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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04811 01 OF 03 230613Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		
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O 201513Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2304  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04811

E. O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES AND DEMOBILIZATION

REFS: (A) KIGALI 3251, (B) STATE 372632

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: WE EXPECT THAT THE NOVEMBER 23 SESSION OF THE ARUSHA TALKS WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES RATHER THAN CONTINUATION OF  
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04811 01 OF 03 230613Z  
THE POLITICAL TALKS, BUT THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN  
CONFIRMED BY THE RPF. THE RWANDANS ARE READY WITH A  
FIRM PROPOSAL FOR INTEGRATION, AND HAVE DONE SOME  
GOOD THINKING ON SUBSEQUENT DEMOBILIZATION. THE  
TOUGH PROBLEM WILL BE SECURING AGREEMENT ON THE  
PROPORTION OF RPF TO BE INTEGRATED INTO THE RWANDAN  
ARMY. RWANDAN OFFERS WILL RANGE FROM SEVEN TO  
EIGHTEEN PERCENT, THE LATTER BEING THE OUTSIDE LIMIT,  
ACCORDING TO THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, BUT SENIOR  
OFFICERS MAY BE A SOMEWHAT HIGHER PROPORTION. THE  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE HOPES TO COMPLETE THESE

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NEGOTIATIONS LKLJHCOT YET HAVE  
CONFIRMATION THAT THE TANZANIAN FACILITATORS AND THE  
RPF ACCEPT THE RWANDAN CONCEPT OF REOPENING THE TALKS  
IN ARUSHA ON NOVEMBER 23 WITH THE ISSUE OF  
INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES AS THE FIRST AGENDA ITEM.  
NEVERTHELESS, SINCE THAT SEEMS TO BE THE DIRECTION IN  
WHICH WE ARE GOING, THIS IS A BRIEF SUMMARY OF WHERE  
RWANDAN THINKING IS ON THIS S:#9/-----

4. THE RWANDANS FINALLY GOT AROUND TO ASKING THE  
TANZANIANS FOR A CHANGE IN THE AGENDA ON NOVEMBER  
19. APPARENTLY THE TANZANIANS TOLD THE GOR THAT THEY  
COULD CONTACT THE RPF THEMSELVES. THE TANZANIANS,  
ACCORDING TO AMBASSADOR MBEZI, ARE MOST UPSET WITH  
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA FOR THE REMARKS HE MADE  
NOVEMBER 15 AT A POLITICAL RALLY. AMBASSADOR MBEZI  
GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY MIGHT EVEN WITHDRAW  
THEIR INVITATION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS.  
IN ANY EVENT, THE TANZANIANS REFUSED TO FACILITATE  
CONTACT WITH THE RPF. IN A MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN  
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04811 01 OF 03 230613Z  
MINISTER THIS MORNING, NOVEMBER 20, HE TOLD ME THAT  
HE HOPED TO SPEAK WITH THE RPF IN BRUSSELS DURING THE  
COURSE OF THE DAY AND WOULD BE ABLE TO CONVEY THEIR  
RESPONSE TO US THIS EVENING OR TOMORROW MORNING.

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NEXT STEPS  
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5. RWANDAN THINKING ON THE INTEGRATION QUESTION HAS  
MADE TREMENDOUS STRIDES FORWARD IN THE PAST SIX  
MONTHS. THE IDEA AND PRINCIPLE IS NOW ACCEPTED BY  
THE MILITARY AND EVEN BY THE THE RIGHT WING CDR  
PARTY. MINISTER OF DEFENSE GASANA TOLD ME PROUDLY  
THIS AFTERNOON THAT THE MILITARY IS SOLIDLY BEHIND  
THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION AS A RESULT OF A SERIES OF  
SEMINARS HE HAS SPONSORED.

6. THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE HAS PROPOSED THAT  
INTEGRATION BEGIN BY BRINGING RPF OFFICERS INTO THE  
HIGH COMMAND. THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE ASSEMBLING  
MILITARY UNITS INTO AGREED ASSEMBLY POINTS, STARTING  
TWO WEEKS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. IT IS  
OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WOULD THEN PROPOSE TO

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MOVE UNIT BY UNIT IN EITHER INTEGRATING INTO THE ARMY OR REJECTING INDIVIDUAL FIGHTERS FROM THE RPF. THOSE REJECTED WOULD BE GIVEN TRAINING OR OTHER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES. THE KEY PROVISION, ACCORDING TO GASANA, IS TO ASSURE THAT ALL RPT ALL RPF COMBATTANTS ARE REPATRIATED, SO NO CADRE IS LEFT BEHIND IN UGANDA TO RENEW THE WAR.

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04811 01 OF 03 230613Z

7. BUT MINISTER OF DEFENSE GASANA IS ALSO ACUTELY AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES, PARTICULARLY AFTER HIS VISIT TO NICARAGUA WHERE HE SAW MANY PROBLEMS IN THE

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04811 02 OF 03 201516Z

ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
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O 201513Z NOV 92

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2305

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 04811

E. O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, RW

SUBJECT: INTEGRATION OF THE ARMIES AND DEMOBILIZATION

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NICARAGUAN PROGRAM. GASANA  
TOLD ME TODAY HE BELIEVES IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO  
COMPLETE THE NEGOTIATION IN ONE SESSION, POSSIBLY  
EVEN BY THE END OF THE WEEK. HE MET LAST NIGHT AND  
AGAIN ZNJQGVALFKL  
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04811 02 OF 03 201516Z  
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8. AS SOON AS THEY START TALKING NUMBERS, THE TWO  
SIDES ARE GOING TO HAVE A PROBLEM. I WOULD SUGGEST,  
THEREFORE, THAT THE RWANDAN SIDE WILL TALK PRINCIPLES  
INITIALLY AND TRY TO AVOID THE STICKY QUESTION OF HOW  
MANY RPF OR WHAT PROPORTION THE RPF MIGHT HAVE IN THE  
ARMY.

9. FROM WHAT WE UNDERSTAND, THE RWANDAN MILITARY  
BEGAN WITH AN OFFER OF SEVEN PERCENT. THIS WAS  
CALCULATED ON THE ASSUMPTION OF THERE BEING 500,000  
REFUGEES OUTSIDE OF THE RWANDAN BORDERS WHICH IS  
ABOUT ONE-FIFTEENTH OF THE RWANDAN POPULATION.  
GASANA TOLD ME TODAY THEY ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE UP  
TO THE PROPORTION CLAIMED BY THE RPF AS RWANDAN  
DIASPORA, THAT IS 1.3 MILLION COMPARED TO A  
POPULATION OF 7.2 MILLION, OR UP TO EIGHTEEN  
PERCENT. WE HAVE HEARD NO HIGHER NUMBERS CONSIDERED  
IN THIS GOVERNMENT YET, EXCEPT FOR HINTS THAT THE  
PROPORTION OF SENIOR OFFICERS INTEGRATED WOULD BE  
HIGHER. GASANA CONFIRMED THAT SENIOR OFFICERS COULD  
BE A SOMEWHAT HIGHER PROPORTION.

10. SO FAR IT APPEARS THAT THE RWANDANS WILL INSIST  
ON INTESRATINPL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04811 02 OF 03 201516Z  
PNBFRXTY SIZE. THEY ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT CREATING  
WHAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER A CRITICAL MASS OF EX RPF IN  
ANY GIVEN UNIT. THEY ALSO FEAR THAT IF THEY ACCEPT  
TOO HIGH A PROPORTION OF RPF IN THE ARMY, THERE WILL  
BE SECURITY PROBLEMS AS A RESULT, AND THE EX-RPF WILL  
BE THE MOST THREATENED.

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DEMOBILIZATION  
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11. THE RWANDAN MILITARY CONTAINS APPROXIMATELY  
30,000 MEN. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE RPF EFFECTIVE  
STRENGTH IS ABOUT 10,000. MINIMUM ESTIMATES WOULD  
REQUIRE REDUCING THAT COMBINED FORCE TO NO MORE THAN  
10,000 TROOPS, THUS REQUIRING DEMOBILIZATION OF  
30,000 MEN.
  12. RWANDAN SOLDIERS ARE ALL GRADUATES FROM PRIMARY  
SCHOOL BUT, EXCEPT FOR SOME OF THE NONCOMMISSIONED  
OFFICERS, THEY HAVE NO SECONDARY EDUCATION.
  13. THE SIMPLEST WAY OF DEMOBILIZING GOR FORCES WOULD  
BE TO MOVE THEM IMMEDIATELY INTO SECONDARY SCHOOLS.  
WE UNDERSTAND THE CURRENT ANNUAL INTAKE OF NEW  
SECONDARY STUDENTS IS ABOUT 10,000. ADDING 10,000  
DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS TO EACH NEW INCOMING CLASS FOR A  
COUPLE OF YEARS WOULD PRETTY MUCH TAKE CARE OF THE  
PROBLEM. IT WOULD STRAIN THE RESOURCES OF THE  
EXISTING SECONDARY SCHOOLS, BUT OUR EXPERIENCE WITH  
SELF-HELP PROJECTS IS THAT CLASSROOMS CAN BE BUILT
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04811 02 OF 03 201516Z  
VERY QUICKLY, IN A MATTER OF WEEKS, AND VERY CHEAPLY,  
FOR AROUND USD 2,500 PER CLASSROOM.

14. SPECIAL CARE WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN FOR RPF  
SOLDIERS. THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM WILL BE THOSE WHO  
ARE RWANDAN BY BIRTH AND LEFT RECENTLY TO JOIN THE

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RPF. THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN TO THEIR HOME COMMUNES WITH SECURITY. BUT THEY COULD BE ACCOMMODATED IN SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS ALONG WITH OTHER DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS FROM THE GOR AND RPF. RWANDANS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE SPECIAL SENSITIVITY FOR THESE PEOPLE, AND EVEN THE MILITARY IS PREPARED TO WORK OUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR REINTEGRATION.

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2306  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 04811

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15. THE CONCEPT OF USING SECONDARY SCHOOL AS THE  
PRIMARY VEHICLE FOR DEMOBILIZATION HAS BEEN KICKED

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AROUND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND THE LEADERSHIP IN THE  
PARLIAMENT. EVERYONE RECOGNIZES THAT THERE WILL BE  
SOME PEOPLE WHO WILL BE UNABLE TO BENEFIT FROM A  
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04811 03 OF 03 201517Z  
SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THAT ADDITIONAL, PERHAPS  
VOCATIONAL, ARRANGEMENTS WILL NEED TO BE MADE FOR  
THOSE WHO CAN'T HANDLE ACADEMIC TRAINING.  
NEVERTHELESS, THE CONSENSUS IS THAT RWANDAN SOLDIERS  
WILL NOT BE WILLING TO RETURN TO THE HILLSIDES, SO  
SOME SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS MUST BE MADE FOR THEM.  
FURTHERMORE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE RWANDAN ECONOMY IS  
NOT GOING TO CREATE MANY NEW JOBS DURING THE NEXT  
YEAR. BUT AFTER THE WAR ENDS AND PEOPLE BEGIN TO  
HAVE CONFIDENCE, NEW JOBS WILL BECOME AVAILABLE.  
RWANDA'S OUTPUT OF SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADUATES IS  
PATHETICALLY LOW, NUMBERING JUST A FEW THOUSAND A  
YEAR. A DEVELOPING ECONOMY WILL BE ABLE TO ABSORB AN  
EXPANSION OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL POPULATION.

16. COMMENT: NEITHER WE NOR THE RWANDANS HAVE ANY  
IDEA WHERE THE RPF WILL DRAW ITS BOTTOM LINE ON  
INTEGRATION. AND WE DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF HOW  
MUCH FLEXIBILITY THERE IS IN THE RWANDAN POSITION.  
THE STICKY PART MAY BE, AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, THE  
PERCENTAGE OF RPF THAT WILL BE PERMITTED IN. AND THE  
RPF WILL BE DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF THE GOR GOOD FAITH  
IN INTEGRATING RPF INDIVIDUALS. THE MINISTER OF  
DEFENSE WELCOMES THE PROPOSED TRAVEL OF COLONEL  
MARLEY TO ARUSHA, AND HOPES HE WILL VISIT KIGALI  
AGAIN ON HIS WAY HOME. END COMMENT. FLATEN

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